

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

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ment, whose no. 1 came out in April 1971 and which continues to appear regularly (in 1978).

The different Kurdish groups abroad publish ephemeral bulletins, at times simply typed. In 1949, there appeared in French *Dengê Kurdistan* "la Voix du Kurdistan", organ of the D.P.K. in Europe. Since 1958, the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe has published in English each year *Kurdistan*, in Kurdish and in Latin characters, some annual issues of *Hîvîya welêt* "Hope of the homeland" in 1963-5, and similarly *Çiya* "The mountain" in 1965-7. The Commission for the Advancement of Kurdistan (CAK) of the United Kingdom published in English a single issue of *Kurdica*. In English also there exists one of the best publications of this genre, *The Kurdish Journal*, from December 1963 to September 1969, published by the Association of the Kurdish Students in U.S.A. Finally, in Kurdish and Turkish, *Ronahî*, "The lamp", organ of the Kurds of Turkey in Europe, since August 1971; this is now (1978) at its 8th issue.

Bibliography: The bibliographies of Edmonds and MacKenzie; R. Lescot, *La presse kurde*, in *Roja nû*, no. 1 (May 1943); Bishop M. L. Ryan, *Bibliography of the Kurdish press*, in *JRCAS* (1944), 313-14; Secadi, *Mejor-i...*, 551-7; Nerevan, *Notes sur la presse kurde d'Irak*, *Publication d'un hebdomadaire kurde en Iran*, in *Orient*, no. 10 (1959/2), 139-48; I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien...*, 394-5; and especially, Jamal Khaznadar, *Kurdish journalism guide*, in Kurdish, Arabic and English, Ministry of Culture, Baghdad 1973, published on the occasion of an exhibition of the Kurdish press for the 75th anniversary of the first Kurdish newspaper. (TH. BOIS)

AL-KURDJ, MUHAMMAD AMIN (d. 1332/1914), one of the leading figures in the recent history of the Nakshbandî order, and author of several influential works.

Born in Irbîl, he made early acquaintance with Sûfism, for his father, Fath Allâh-zâda, was a Kâdirî *shaykh*. His own initiation was at the hands of a Nakshbandî *shaykh* of the city, Shaykh 'Umar, who was separated by only one link in the initiational chain from the great renewer of the Nakshbandiyya in the western Islamic lands, Mawlânâ Khâlid Baghdâdî (d. 1242/1826). After several years spent in the company of Shaykh 'Umar, Muhammad Amin received a licence himself to initiate disciples into the Nakshbandî path, and he left his homeland, never to return. He retained, however, a certain mode of reverential awareness of Shaykh 'Umar's spiritual presence through the distinctive Nakshbandî technique known as *râbiqa*. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, enjoying numerous mystical and visionary experiences; he compared his state while in Mecca to that of Ibn 'Arabî when he began the composition of *al-Futûhât al-Makkiyya*. Inspired by a desire to visit the tombs of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in Cairo, he left the Hijâz for Egypt, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1323/1905. He lived first in the *rawdh* of the Kurdish students at the Azhar, later moving to the village of Ambâba outside of Cairo, and finally to Bûlâk. Initially he concealed his Nakshbandî affiliations and Sûfi interests, concentrating on the study of *hadith*, *tafsîr* and *fikh* at the Azhar. Later he began to proclaim the path, and to accept each year a small number of disciples. Upon an indication from Shaykh 'Umar contained in a dream, he then decided to accept all who came to him, and indeed vigorously to propagate the Nakshbandî order throughout Egypt, travelling widely to numer-

ous towns and villages. He encountered opposition from the followers of other orders and from adherents of the Salafî movement, but soon came to gather a large following. In his instruction, he placed emphasis on two particular elements of Nakshbandî practice: silent *dhikr* and the recitation of a litany known as the *khâlm-i khwâdjagân*. He died in Bûlâk in 1332/1914 and was buried in the Karâfa cemetery of Cairo.

He left behind him numerous *khalfas*, the most prominent of whom was Shaykh Muhammad Yûsûf al-Sakkâ; many contemporary Nakshbandîs of Egypt are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is *Tanwîr al-kulûb fî mu'âmalat 'allâm al-ghayûb*, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Sûfism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1368/1949. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of Nakshbandî saints (*al-Mawâhib al-sarmadiyya fî manâhib al-Nakshbandiyya*, published in Cairo in 1329/1911, as well as manuals of Shâfi'î and Mâlikî *fikh*.

Bibliography: A comprehensive account of Muhammad Amin's life is given in a 55-page preface by Shaykh Salâma 'Azzâmî to *Tanwîr al-kulûb* (8th ed., Cairo 1368/1949). Some mention is made of him by A. J. Arberry in his *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, where Muhammad Amin's description of Nakshbandî practices of *dhikr* is summarised. The same passage from *Tanwîr al-kulûb* is also to be found in French translation as an appendix to Jean Gouillard's version of *La petite philocalie*. (HAMID ALGAR)

AL-KURDJ, GURDJ, GURDISTÂN, the names in Islamic sources for the province of Georgia in western Caucasia. Georgia comprises four distinct regions: Mingrelia and Imereti in the north-west; Samtskhle in the south-west (adjoining the Black Sea coastal region of Lazistân [see LAZ], inhabited by a people closely related to the Georgians); Kartli in the north, with the capital Tiflis [q.v.], Georgian Tbilisi; and Kakheti in the east. Topographically, much of Georgia comprises mountains, hills and plateaux, with lowland only on the Black Sea coastal plain and in the valleys of the River Rioni and its tributaries, draining westwards into the Black Sea, and of the River Kura (Georgian Mtkvari, Islamic Kur [q.v.]) and its tributaries, draining eastwards into the Caspian.

The Georgian people (who refer to themselves as Kartvel-ej) and their homeland as Sa-kartvel-o, after a mythical, semi-divine ancestor Kartios) are linked with the Svans of northern Mingrelia and the Mingrelo-Laz in the so-called "Ponto-Zagros" group of Caucasian peoples, although over the millennia their blood must have been much mingled with that of other peoples who have invaded or have passed through their country. Linguistically, the Georgian language forms with Svanetian and Mingrelo-Laz the southern or Ibero-Caucasian group of Caucasian languages; for details, see AL-KABK, languages. It is written in an alphabet of considerable phonetic exactness, which is traditionally considered to be the creation of St. Mesrop, inventor of the Armenian alphabet, but which apparently had two forms originally; these must at all events have been derived in the first place from Aramaic-Pahlavi scripts (see D. Diringer, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*, New York 1968, 252-4).

Early history. From earliest times, Georgia has been a meetingpoint for the cultures of East and West and a place where the products of European

and Asian commerce were exchanged. In Homeric times, the western Georgian coastal region, Imereti and Mingrelia, formed the famed Colchis, land of the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts, whilst the lands to the east, Kartli, Kakheti and Samtskhe, formed the Caucasian Iberia, with its capital at Mtskheta-Armazi, on the River Kur just upstream from modern Tiflis. The campaigns of Pompey in the 1st century BC brought Georgia into the sphere of Roman political and cultural influence, and to classical geographers like Strabo we owe a description of Iberia, and the fourfold class-division of its society, a division not dissimilar from that of ancient Iran. The Iberians did indeed have close cultural links with the Parthians, and we find Iberian kings and nobles with Iranian names like Parnavaz and Asparukh, together with a certain spread of the Zoroastrian religion within Iberia, a process only arrested by the adoption of Christianity within Georgia ca. 330 AD, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and through the missionary efforts of a Cappadocian slave woman, St. Nino. The consequences for the future history of Georgia and its people of this conversion to Christianity were incalculable. Georgia, and Armenia [see ARMENIA] to the south of it, henceforth became bastions of the new faith against the pagan regions of the eastern Caucasus and against the Sāsānids of Persia, the enemies of Byzantium. At first dependent on the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Georgian Church, like that of the Armenians, espoused Monophysitism and rejected the formulae of the Council of Chalcedon, and at the Council of Dvin of the Armenian and Georgian Churches in 506, the Georgians seceded from Orthodoxy and set up their own national church of St. George, with its Catholicos-Patriarch resident at Tiflis.

The period of Byzantine-Persian rivalry. The old capital of Georgia Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5.10 Μεσσητά = Μεσσητά) was sometimes called by the Arab geographers by a popular etymology Masjdjid Dhi'l-Karnayn (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 56; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle, the Persian *eristav* ("ethnarch") sent against Varaz-bakar (379-93?), king of Georgia (of the Khosroid dynasty, descended from the Sāsānids), built Tiflis "between the Gates of the Caucasus" (i.e. between Darial and Darband) "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 140).

During the wars of king Wakhtang Gurgasal (446-99?) with the Persians, the fortress (*kala*) and the village (*sop'eli*) of Tiflis were destroyed. Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Dač'i (499-514) completed its walls (*op. cit.*, 180, 196-201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian *marzbān* in Tiflis, beside whom representatives of the Georgian nobility had a nominal share in the administration of the country (Brosset, i, 226; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 397, 431-2; Djavakhov, *Khist. Vostok*, i [1912], 110). The governor of Mtskheta was under the *marzbān*. Theophanes of Byzantium (6th century) is the first Byzantine author to mention ἡ Τίφλις (Τιφλίς) μητροπόλις under the year 571 (Theophanes apud Photius, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, clii, 139; cf. Muralt, *Essai de chronologie byzantine*, St. Petersburg 1855, i, 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having distracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give

them a king and the Bagratid Guaram (575-600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restitution of the foundations of the church of Sion in Tiflis" (i, 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by Khuraw Parviz (after 606), the son of Guaram, Stephanos I (who was content with the title of *eristavi* = "ethnarch"), joined the Persians. Later, when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as *ml'avar* ("chief") Adarnases of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the *eristavi* Djibghu (Theophanes: Ζιέβηλ; according to Marquart: T'ong Yabghu Khakan). The citadel (*kala*) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 194; and Yāqūt, ii, 58, where Djurzān is a *nāhiya* of the country of Armenia). According to the Georgian chronicle (*Kart'lis tskhovreba*), the Agarians invaded Samkhetia ("Armenia"), a rather ambiguous term, for "Samkhetia of Karti" began to the south of the river Khram, about 20 miles south of Tiflis) in the reign of Stephanos II (630-63?), son of Adarnases, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Arēl withdrew to Egris in Mingrelia. In the period of their joint reign (663-8) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Kru ("Marwān the Deaf") sent by the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Eshim (= Hishām whose dates are actually 105-25/724-43!). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period, the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Čorokh (Klardinjetia). The thread of events may, however, be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements [see ARMENIA].

In reality, Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Tabarī, i, 2666, in 22/643 Surāka, having made peace with Shahr-Barāz (king of Bāb al-Abwāb [q.v.]), sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Tabarī, i, 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town, but it was actually made in 25/645 in the reign of 'Uthmān (Yāqūt, *Historiae*, 194; Balādhuri, 198). When Ḥabīb b. Maslama had conquered Armenia, he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nkly = Nicolas? Tfiy = Theophilus?) appeared before him to testify that the *hatrik* of Djurzān and his people were well-disposed. Ḥabīb's answer (cf. the versions in Balādhuri, 201 and Tabarī, i, 2764; Yāqūt, i, 857, rather follows Balādhuri) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in [the *rustāḥ* of] Mandjālīs (now Manglis) in al-Djurzān (= Georgia) in the land of Humrūz".

Ḥabīb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Dījaz' to expound the law of Islam, and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islam.

After reducing Tiflis, Ḥabīb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādhuri, 202-3; cf. the attempts to analyse them in Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, in *Zeitschr. f. armen. Philologie*, ii (Marburg 1903), 149-225). Among these, the *Sanāriya* play a prominent part (Ptolemy, 5.8.13: Σαναράιοι; in Armenian: Tsanarkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakheti and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N.Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Tush, whose language is related to that of the Cēlens (cf. *Izv. Akad. Nauk*, x/12 [1916], 1379-1408).

From the time of Ḥabīb's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) the *Djurdžān* (eastern Georgians) and the *Abkhāz* (*q.v.*, here in the wide sense of "western Georgians of the valley of the Rion", i.e. of Imereti) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Murādī*, ii, 65; *Yāqūt*, ii, 583). From the time of Yazid II (101-5/720-4) we have a letter in which *Djarrāh* b. 'Abd Allāh confirmed to the *Djurdžān* the guarantees given by Ḥabīb b. Maslama (Balādhuri, 202; there is a reference there also to the *rustāḥ* of Mandjalīs, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Kru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muḥammad b. Marwān, of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muḥammad who in the reign of Hishām was fighting mainly in Dāghistān, but whose expedition against the "Gate" of the *Alān* (*q.v.*) must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kisālī (?), 20 *farsakhs* from Tiflis and 40 *farsakhs* from Bardha'a (probably Kesala below Tawīs, which satisfies the description; see below). A *dīḥam* is known of 'Abd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85/704.

The 'Abbāsids. In 141/758 the *Khazars* (*q.v.*) under Ra's Tarkhān invaded Armenia (*Yāqūt*, ii, 446). Tabarī (iii, 328), speaking of the same event under 147/764, says that during the invasion of Asīr Khān al-Kh'arazmī (*sic*), many Muslims and *dīmmīs* were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. *Yāqūt* immediately after 141/758 mentions a rising of the *Ṣanāriya*. The latter were defeated by 'Amir b. Ismā'īl, who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another *Khazar* invasion took place in 183/799. Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country, but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (*Yāqūt*, ii, 518; Tabarī, iii, 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and *Djuansher* (718-86?) the *Khān*'s general Blučan (in Armenian Bulč'an) took Tiflis and conquered Kartli.

Of the governors whom Ḥārūn al-Rashid (170-93/786-809) sent to Armenia, the harshest was *Khuzayma* b. *Khāzim* (Balādhuri, 210). The Georgians called him *Cū'um-Asim*. *Yāqūt*, ii, 210, confirms the cruelty of his second governorship. The *Djurdžān* (read *Djurdžān*) and the *Ṣanāriya* rebelled. *Khuzayma*'s general Sa'īd b. *Hayḥam* defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis.

Under al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) a certain Muḥammad b. 'Attāb established himself in Armenia. In 214/829 he conquered the land of the *Djurdžān* and the *Ṣanāriya* joined him (*Yāqūt*, ii, 540, 565-6). *Khālid* b. Yazid gave *amān* to Muḥammad b. 'Attāb and defeated his allies, the *Ṣanāriya*, but the disturbances in Armīniya went on (*Yāqūt*, ii, 566; Balādhuri, 210-11). In 215-39/830-53, *Ishāk* b. *Ismā'īl* carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Ishāk b. *Ismā'īl*. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murādī*, ii, 65, he was of *Kuraysh* origin. His father *Ismā'īl* was the son of *Shu'ayb*, a client of Marwān II (126-32/744-50); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph al-Amin (193-8/809-13) and had had skirmishes with the governor Asad b. Yazid (*Yāqūt*, ii, 528). The uncle of *Ishāk*, 'Ali b. *Shu'ayb*, mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i, 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from *Khālid*, probably after Muḥammad b. 'Attāb. But already in the governorship of Ḥasan Bāghdhīsī, the second successor of *Khālid*, we find the name of *Ishāk*. When the Byzantine troops

of Theophilus (829-42) reached Wanand (near *Kars*), they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii, ch. 5, tr. Dulaurier, 171). As a result of such exploits, the caliph al-Wathīq (227-32/842-7) recognised *Ishāk* as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of *Khālid*, defeated *Ishāk* and drove out the *Ṣanāriya*. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against *Ishāk* and his allies, the people of *Kakheti* and the *Ṣanāriya*.

Finally, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the Turkish commander Bughā al-Kabīr al-*Sharābī* (*q.v.*) was sent to Armenia. In Rabī' I 238 (August-September 852), he left Dabīl for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside *Sughdabīl* (the reference is to the heights of *Makhatha* to the north of Isanī = *Sughdabīl*).

Ishāk made a sortie, but Bughā's *naḥḥāṭin* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. *Ishāk*'s palace was burned. He and his son 'Amr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the *Maghāriba*. *Ishāk* was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The *Maghāriba* took the survivors prisoners and mutilated the dead. *Ishāk*'s wife, daughter of the lord of Sarīr (= the principality of the Avars in northern Dāghistān), was at *Sughdabīl*, which was defended by the *Khuwayṭhiya* (people of Sasun; cf. *mayyāfārīkīn*). Bughā granted them *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and he continued his operations in the direction of *Djardmān* and *Baylakān* (Tabarī, iii, 1114-16; cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii, chs. 9-10, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, 140-50. A Georgian inscription on the church of Ateni gives the Islamic date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā; cf. *Djavakhov*, *Khist. Vostok*, i [1922], 284). The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Umayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Mas'ūdī, ii, 67; *Yāqūt*, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bughā was soon recalled; cf. Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 266-8, and Thomas Artsruni, *ibid.*

There was an 'Abbāsīd mint for *dīḥams* at Tiflis till 331/942 (pieces are known of 230, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 331; cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khalifs orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873; Palchomov, *Monet. Grusii. i. Domongolskiy period*, in *Zap. Num. Old. IRAO*, 1/4 (1910); E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 89-90).

The aid which Bagrat (826-76) had lent to the caliph against *Ishāk* did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty, called of *Abkhazia* (cf. the explanation of this term above), seized Kartli. Thus Mas'ūdī (writing in 332/942), *Murādī*, ii, 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of *Djurdžān* (Bagratid of the lateral line, d. 941; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 176) crossed the land of *Abkhāz* (*sic*) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which, although surrounded by infidels on all sides, still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885-907) also intervened in the affairs of Kartli (Brosset, i, 270, n. 12). Mas'ūdī gives Mas'djīd *Dhī* 'I-Karnayn (= *Mtskheta*) as the residence of the king of *Djurdžān* (al-*janbaghi*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 186, to the Armenian **mambaghi* > *mamphali*, a Georgian title).

The Sādjīds, the Sālārīds and the *Shad*-*dāids*. In the meanwhile, there arose in *Ādhar*-

bāyḍjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the suzerainty of Baghḍād, the Sāḍjids (276/889 or 279-893 to 317/929; see Sāmīr and R. Vasmer, *O monastikh Sadjidov*, in *Izvestia Obshch. izuc. Azerb.* (Baku 1927), No. 5, 22-51). Abu T-Kāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north. In 299/912 (?) he came to Tiflis, the amir of which was then called *Dja'far* b. 'Alī (cf. below), and seized the fortresses of Uḍjarmā and Boč'orma (on the upper Iora) (cf. Brosset, i, 275, n. 2). The chronicle also mentions another expedition (between 305/918 and 311/923) of the "Saracens called Sadjī", in the course of which Mtskheta was taken. The Muslim sources are silent about these expeditions. Immediately afterwards the chronicle mentions the appearance of the Muḥafīrīds [q.v.] or Sālārīds at Bardha'a and in Aḥharbāyḍjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The series of reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brosset), until the king Bagrat III (980-1044?) reunited Kartli, Abkhazīa, Tao (on the Č'orokh) and Ardānūḍj. In his time, the Shaddādīd [q.v.] Faḍlūn invaded Armenia, but was defeated by the Georgians, and Mtskheta was always regarded as the royal city, although the rulers resided in Kutais (K'ut'at'isi). In 421/1030 the Georgian and Kakhetian notables, with the help of the amir *Dja'far* of Tiflis, undertook an expedition against the Shaddādīd Faḍlūn (Faḍlūn of Gandja). But when the latter died, Liparit Orbeliani, the powerful lord of T'rialet' (on the upper Khrām), captured *Dja'far* by a ruse and only released him on the appeal of the young king Bagrat IV (1027-72), who evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexed by the turbulent Liparit. *Dja'far* was re-established at Tiflis, but a few years later the king himself laid siege to Tiflis. The siege had lasted for two years when suddenly the king at the suggestion of Liparit made peace with *Dja'far*. After the death of the latter, the elders (ḥer) of Tiflis offered the keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied the citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Ts'kalkin and T'abor. The inhabitants of the Isan quarter on the left bank of the Kur, however, destroyed the bridge, and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon them.

The Saldjūks. In 439/1048 the troops of Ibrāhīm Yīnāl (in Georgian Bahram-Lam) appeared for the first time in Basian (Pasin on the upper waters of the Araxes). In 445/1053 (?) the Saldjūks undertook an expedition against Gandja, but a countermovement by the Byzantines, who were allies of Bagrat IV, saved the town. Thereupon the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat, but as a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines kept Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three years. Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of his fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslan (455-65/1063-72) invaded Georgia (Brosset, i, 326). On 10 December 1068, Alp Arslan, accompanied by the kings of Armenia and Kakheti (Aghsar'an, son of Gagik, of the dynasty of Korikoz (Chorepiscopi), which ruled from 787 to 1105), as well as the amir of Tiflis, marched against Bagrat. All Kartli was occupied and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. The Shaddādīds were given compensation. Tiflis and Rustaw were given to Faḍlūn of Gandja, and Anī to Manuḥīr b. Abī 'l-Aswār. In the spring of 461/1069, Bagrat returned to Kartli. Faḍlūn encamped at Isan (a suburb on the left bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the country. Bagrat defeated Faḍlūn, who took the road through Kakheti, but was taken prisoner by Aghsar'an. At the price of conceding several fortresses on the Iora, Bagrat ransomed Faḍlūn and received from him the surrender of Tiflis,

where in the meanwhile a certain Sīthlaraba (Sayyid al-'Arab?) was proclaimed amir. This plan failed, for Alp Arslan obtained the liberation of Faḍlūn. Giorgi II, son of Bagrat (reigned 1072-89, lived to 1125), lived in Kutais. In Kakhet Aghsar'an retained his possessions on condition that he adopted Islam.

Dawid II. The revival took place under Dawid II Aghmashenebeli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kartli and Abkhazīa" (1089-1125?). Dawid brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Kīpčaks (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity. In spite of their unruliness (Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 379), these warlike elements enabled Dawid to throw off Saldjūk domination. He ceased the payment of the *kharaḍj* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter T'amar in marriage to the Shīrwān-Shāh [q.v.] Akhsitān (in Georgian, Aghsar'an) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515/1121. On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis, the Saldjūk Mahmūd b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Artukid Naḍīm al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Mazyādīd Dubays b. Sadaḳa (Durbez of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sultān Tughlūk (lord of Arran and Nakhīcewan) with his atābeg Kūn-toḡhdī, all took part. On 18 August 1121 this army entered T'rialet' and Manglis, but was destroyed by Dawid and his Kīpčaks, after which in 515/1121-2, Dawid stormed Tiflis, so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons"; Brosset, i, 365-7, and *Additions*, i, 230, 236-41; cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x, 398-9 (= Deirémery, *Fragments*, 26); Kamāl al-Dīn, *Tārīkh Ḥalab*, in *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, iii, 628; Yāḳūt, i, 857 (s.v. art. Taffis). The Arab historian al-'Aynī (761-854/1360-1451), who utilises sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i, 241), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasise the atrocities committed by Dawid (Matthew of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, i, 230), says that the king respected the feelings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done. Dawid is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends; the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomov, *Moneti*, etc., 77-81) bear the image of the Virgin. Great caution in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because, as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i, 380).

The Banū *Dja'far*. Dawid succeeded in Tiflis to the Banū *Dja'far*, of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin. While the Georgian Chronicle (i, 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-'Aynī gives the Banū *Dja'far* alone a period of 200 years. Indeed, we have seen that in ca. 300/912 the amir of Tiflis was already called *Dja'far* b. 'Alī (Brosset, i, 275). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; *dirhams* are known of Maṇṣūr b. *Dja'far*, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Muṭ'ī li 'llāh), and of *Dja'far* b. Maṇṣūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Tā'ī li 'llāh). In the time of Bagrat IV (1027-72) the amir of Tiflis was called *Dja'far* (his father 'Alī had carried off the property of the Sveti-Tskhoveli church of Mtskheta). The Chronicle calls him Mukhat' Gwerd *Dja'far* (Mukhat' Gwerd is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū *Dja'far* family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-'Aynī).

The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri (1125-54) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Ādharbāyḍjān, the *atābeg* Ildēhiz or Eldigūz [q.v.] (in Georgian Ildiguz); at Āni, the scions of the *Shaddādids*; at *Khilāt*, *Zahir al-Din Shāh-i Arman* (523-79/1128-83); at Erzerum, the *amir* Saluk b. 'Alī, whom the Georgians defeated near Āni in 548/1153; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 126, year 548/1157; Müneddjim-baḥḥ, ii, 577; Defrémery, *Fragments*, 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelat'i (cf. Fraehn, *Mém. Ac. St. Pétersbourg*, ser. 6, *Sc. morales*, iii, 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azrak, the historian of Mayyāfārīqin, who visited Tiflis in 548/1153. He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dakka*) opposite the *khafib*; cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic manuscripts...*, in *JRAS* (1902), 791 (al-Azrak may have been the source used by al-'Aynī).

Under Giorgi III (1156-84), the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same, and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Āni, Dwin, Nakhicewān, Gandja, Bardha'a and Baylakān. To assist his cousin the Shīrwān-Shāh Akhshīn, son of Tamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, i, 383-403, and *Add.* i, 253-7, 266; Ibn al-Athīr, years 556, 557, 559, 561, 569).

The reign of Tamar (1184-1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kartli", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Saldjūks to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Tamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond (Kunik, *Osnov. Trapez. imperii v 1204*, in *Učen. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, ii [1853], 705-33). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzdindjān inflicted defeats on the Ildēhizids of Ādharbāyḍjān. The sack of Ardabil by the Georgians (Brosset, i, 469-73) finds confirmation in the *Silsilat al-nasab-i safa'iyya*, Berlin 1843, 43; cf. Khanykov, *Mé. Asiatiques*, i (1852), 580-3. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210-12 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Romguaro (= Ramdijār near Nishāpūr!), but beyond Tabriz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i, 469-73). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakhare and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzel family (Armenian of Kurdish origin; cf. Brosset, *Add.* i, 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Tamar could only retain Kars (Brosset, i, 467). At home also (Djavakhov), the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia; the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Sultāns"; Brosset, i, 474). In the reign of Tamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu 'l-Hasan, "amir of Tiflis and Kartli" (is this a scion of the Banū Dja'far?).

The Mongols. The son of Tamar, Giorgi III Lasha ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212-23, levied the *kharaḍi* of Gandja, Nakhicewān, Erzerum (Kamukalak) and *Khilāt*, but in 617/1220 the Mongol troops of Subutay and Djébe (in Georgian: Suba and Iama or Čeba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 493) considers the defeat at Berdujī (on the Borčala) as the

turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223-47) (*Kis-malik*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims), a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i, 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūk of Erzerum, Muḥith al-Din Toghril (in Georgian Or'ul) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270: *hādithai^m ghari-bai^m lam yūḍjad mithluhā*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224), the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate.

The Kh'ārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Din defeated the Georgians at Garni in Shābān 622/August 1225; (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 283; Nasawi, ed. Houdas, 112; Brosset, *Add.* i, 309). The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwaynī, ii, 159; he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on 9 March 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djuwaynī, Djalāl al-Din spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Abkhazia, but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*'anawāt^m wa-ḥakr^m min ḡhayr^m amān^m*) and all those who did not accept Islam were massacred. Nasawī (122) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 504-7). The vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winterquarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawī, 125). Djalāl al-Din, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 625/1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Loré, he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwané, made up of very diverse elements: Georgians, Alāns, Armenians, people of Sarīr (= the Avar of Daghistān), Lakz, Kipčak, Svan, Abkhāz, Djanit (= Č'an-etyi; cf. 122), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djuwaynī, ii, 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 516) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor?), Djalāl al-Din committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.

Second coming of the Mongols. Djalāl al-Din disappeared from the scene in Shawwāl 628/August 1231, but the remnants of the Kh'ārazmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis, however, was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djurnaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1236 (Brosset, i, 333; according to d'Ohsson, iii, 75: *ca.* 632/1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutais, and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *no'ins*, of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Carmaghan, Caghtar, Ioser and Bičuy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rion.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country: the Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Saldjūks of Rūm, Ghīyāth al-Din, against the Ismā'īlis of Alamūt, against Baghdād etc.). The country was divided into six *tumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*mu'awar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *no'ins*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years. In this way the heir to the throne, Dawid (called in Mongol Narin "splendid"),

was removed from the country. A certain Egarstan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king"; Brosset, i, 542), but the Mongols set up against him Dawid, son of Giorgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Karaorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among those present at the *kurultay* of Güyük Khān in 643/1245 (cf. *Djuwaynī*, i, 205, 212; Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Möngke (1248-59), they ruled together at first.

As Hülegü did not like Dawid Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains: on the one side, Batu Khān, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side, the Il-Khāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawid, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khōdjā 'Azīz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *no'in* Oyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hülegü against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shirwān in 1262 (d'Oshson, iii, 182). In the reign of Abagha or Abaka, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf. *ibid.*, 418).

The successor to Dawid, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273-89), who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Ahmad, but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu*. The Georgians call him T'av-Dadebuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols. In vain Dawid VI (1292-1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Otakhā = Tokhtoghu); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the Orthodox Catholicos and the *hādī* of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 615; this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islam as a result of the accession of Ghazan!). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *no'in* Nawrūz in the reign of Ghazan: Brosset, i, 617) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gilān expedition of 1307).

Giorgi V. After the death of Öldjeytū (717/1317), Giorgi V (Brtskwinale, the Splendid) was placed on the throne (1316-46) under the patronage of the *amīr* Coban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Il-Khāns to drive out the Mongols. He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imereti, and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from "Nikophsia (15 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Timūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360-95) that Timūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *djihad*. Timūr set out from Kars in the winter of 788/1386 (*Zafar-nāma*, i, 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsop^e (Nève, *Exposé*, 37) mention the apostasy of the King, but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Timūr's soldiers and regain his

lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Zafar-nāma*, i, 705, 720, does not give these details. In 796/1394 it only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akhaltsikhe (Akhiskha [q.v.]) in order to apply the law of *ghazā*. Timūr in person finally chastised the Georgians called Kara-Kalkanlık ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the *Pahaws* and *Khewsurs*) and returned via Tiflis to Shakkī [q.v.].

In 798/1395 the Georgians, allied with Sidi 'Alī of Shakkī, inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Timūrid Mirān-Shāh who was besieging Aliadjak (near Nakhikewān) and delivered Sultān Tāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid.*, ii, 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802/1399 when Timūr took Shakkī and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?), probably in northern Kakheti, where a Khimshia family held a fief at Mareli, to the east of T'fonet'i (Brosset, ii/2, 464). In the spring of 802/1400 Timūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgin) should hand over Sultān Tāhir. On receiving an evasive answer, Timūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii, 214). Tiflis received a Khurāsānian garrison, but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djānī-Beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarit (?), Timūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Svanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Tāhir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Ismā'īl (Brosset, i, 668) he offered to Timūr to pay the *kharaḍī*. Timūr accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Ivané (the *adabeg* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islam and that of the Kara-Kalkanlık plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-göl ("1,000 Lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasgird (Panaskert, on the upper Çorokh); *ibid.*, ii, 250.

In 804/end of 1401 Timūr returned to Transcaucasia via Sīvās-Baghdād-Tabriz. His delegates (*muḥasṣil*) went to collect the tribute (*saw wa-kharaḍī wa-djizya*) from Giorgi, who sent his brother with the contributions. Timūr gave Giorgi *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii, 379). In the summer of 804/1402 Timūr went from Karabāgh [q.v.] to Min-göl and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdjik, lieutenant of a certain Tadjī (?).

When, in 805/1403, Timūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bā-yazid. At Min-göl, Ivané, son of Ak-budjā, arrived with gifts as did Kustāndīl (Constantine), brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii, 512). Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shirwān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii, 521). Giorgi sent new presents, but Timūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In Muharram 806/August 1403 he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kūrtin defended by Nazāl or Nazwāl (the Chronicle calls it Birthwis on Alget) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii, 524-32). The troops then laid waste the country round (*adrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*hudūd*) of Abkhazia: "which is the end of this country". Seven hundred towns and villages were destroyed, and the historian of Timūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii, 536). Timūr only stopped them when the *'ulamā'* The Georgians sent 1,000 *tanposse* to grant *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tanposse* of gold struck in the

name of Tīmūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 18 mithkals, etc.

Tīmūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Baylakān (winter of 806/1403-4). All the country from Baylakān to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khalil Mirzā (ii, 545).

Post-Tīmūrīd period. The general disorder, after the havoc wrought by Tīmūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṣlaḥ al-sa'dayn*, in *Notices and extracts*, xiv, 235 and *Mirkh'and*; cf. Defrémery, *Fragments*, 245) mention an expedition of Shāykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyirids against the Kara-Koyunlu Kara Yūsuf in which Kustāndīl, king of Gurdjistān, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes, and Kara Yūsuf slew Kustāndīl with his own hand. This happened in 815/1412-13. Also, 300 *aznāwārs* (Georgian nobles; cf. Armenian *azn* "race") were massacred. Vakhushṭ (Brosset, i, 689) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1413 (1416?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhāltsikhe, Kara Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsop^c; cf. Nève, *loc. cit.*, 96; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413-43) "no consoler arose from anywhere". The king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sveti Tsḥkhoveli (at Mtskheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāh-Rukh in 823/1420 at Kara-bāgh (cf. *Mirkh'and*, in Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841/1437 Shāh-Rukh arrived in Samkhetia (cf. above), Alexander sent him rich gifts, after which the son of Tīmūr left Georgia. In 1444/848 the Kara-Koyunlu Dījhān-shāh made a raid to Akhāltsikhe (cf. Brosset, i, 683; according to Thomas of Metsop^c, Dījhān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Nève, 149).

The partition of Georgia. At this period, Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i, 679-89). The history of Vakhushṭ, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1469-1503), during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, ii/1, 11-18, 147, 208, 249): Kartli, with capital Tiflis; Imereti, with capital Kutais; and Kakheti, with capital at Gremi (Persian *Girim*) and later at T'elav. In addition, the *atābeg* of Samtskhe (with capital Akhāltsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Santabago (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klardjet'ia on the Čorokh), the princes of which from Manučar III = Šafar-pašha (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii, 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imereti (the Guris of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelovani of the Svans; cf. *ახვანთა*). In Kartli also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imereti.

The Ak-Koyunlu. In this period Uzun Hasan comes on the stage. According to Mūnedīdīn-baḥḥī, iii, 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871/1466, when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Cemākār (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhāltsikhe, but he returned to the attack in 877/1472. King Bakzāti (read: Bagrat II of Imereti) was dethroned (*kaḥr*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Vakhushṭ's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun

Hasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Hasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii, 13, 25). The *Ta'rīkh-i Aminī*, however, calls the governor (*iyyālāt*) left by Uzun Hasan, Šūfi Khalil Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Hasan in 882/1478, when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sulṭān Ya'qūb Ak-Koyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891/1486 to chastise the *Atābeg* Kvarḡvare. In the next year, Ya'qūb sent Šūfi Khalil Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-kal'a and Kaozani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Borčala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the *Geography of Vakhushṭ*). Kustāndīl (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis, Šūfi Khalil began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kudjir (Kodjori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis, the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Wālī aghā eṣhīkī-aghāṣī took the town (3 Rabi' I 894/4 February 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Ya'qūb, *Ta'rīkh-i Aminī*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 201, fols. 202a-5a and 155a-9a). The Chronicle (Brosset, ii, 326-7), which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Sabarat'iano (called Barāt-ili by the Muslims) on the Alget inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans.

The Safawids. In 907/1501 a detachment of Ismā'īl's forces under the command of Khādīm-Beg invaded Georgia (*Shāhīnshāh-nāma*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Dīw Sulṭān in 926/1520 was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of David VIII, to Ismā'īl I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, iii, *ḡuz* 4, 92). In 929/1522-3 the founder of the Safawid dynasty seized Aghdja-kal'a and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge"; cf. Vakhushṭ, in Brosset, ii/1, 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskandar Munḡhī mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Tahmāsp against Georgia. In 947/1540 Tahmāsp seized Tiflis, the governor of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next, the fortress of Bartīs (? Birtvis) was taken (*Ālam-ārā*, Tehran 1314, 63). The second time was in 1093/1546 when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Tahmāsp at Shūragel (near Gümrī = Alexandropol = Leninakan). The third expedition in 958/1551 was sent from Shakkī on the appeal of the *atābeg* Kay Khuraw, son of Kurḡa (Kvarḡware) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Iskandar Munḡhī writes Lawārsāb, but the name is Iranian: Luhrāsp; cf. *Mir'āt al-buldān*).

According to Iskandar Munḡhī, *Ālam-ārā*, 65, by the Turco-Persian peace of 961/1553 the territories of Masḡ (Mesḡhī = Samtskhe), of Kartli (Kartli) and of Kakheti were allotted to Shāh Tahmāsp, while Sulṭān Sulaymān received those of Baḡhī-aḥūk ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imereti), of Dādiyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trablus (Tire-boli). Luarsab I, however, continued to worry Tiflis. This provoked the fourth expedition. Barāt-ili (Sabarat'iano), Gori and Ateni were occupied and the king himself fell in battle. Vakhushṭ dates the four expeditions to 1536, 1548, 1553 and 1558 respectively. Brosset, ii/1, 452, considers these very probable as they coincide very well

with the vicissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558-1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by his brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān), who purchased the throne at the price of apostasy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamūt, from where he was released by Ismāʿīl II (984/1576-7) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman domination 986-1011/1578-1603. In 986/1578, during the reign of the weak Shāh Khudābānda, the Ottomans under Mustafā Lala Pasha penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe, and in August seized Tiflis, from which Dāwūd Khān had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muḥammad, son of Ferhād-Pasha, was given the *sandjak* (*pashalik*?) of Tiflis (von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 483). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a *sandjak* to Swimon. When Mustafā Pasha returned to Erzerum, Imām Kulī Khān, son of the Shamkhal slain by Özdémir-Pasha, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Hasan Pasha (*ibid.*, 489), but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new *serasker* Sinān Pasha arrived in Tiflis and appointed as *Beglerbeg* a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islam under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In Rājāb 990/August 1582 Muḥammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis, but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pasha put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dhu'l-Ka'da 990/December 1582) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 992/1584, Ridwān Pasha left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Ridwān but without success. Ferhād Pasha's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal-kalaki, which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 993/1585 against Tabriz [q.v.], the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Ādjarbāydjān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of 25 Djumādā I 999/March 21, 1590); cf. the *Chronicle of the Psalter of Meshki* (1559-87) in Takaishvili, *op. cit.*, 183-214; von Hammer, ii, 481-97 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, *ibid.*, 411-19). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Nusret-nāma* of 'Alī (Jan. 1578-Jan. 1580). On the other Turkish sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 117, 181. Soon after the accession of Muḥammad III (1003/1595), Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Istanbul, where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 999/1591 till 15 Djumādā I 1012/21 October 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh 'Abbās I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1011/1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sultān Selim (918-26/1512-20).

Shāh 'Abbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakheti) in the region of this monarch. Although Giorgi of Kartli and Alexander of Kakheti had fought under his banner at the siege of Eriwān in 1602, 'Abbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605-16) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulāb-kal'a. In 1025/1616 'Abbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kartli to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616-19). He then punished Kakheti. According to the official history of the reign, *Ālamārā*, 635, the number of those put to death was 60-70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-130,000: "since the beginning of Islam no such events have taken place under any king". In 1033/1623

Kardika Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakheti and instead of leading them against Imereti had them massacred "as if at a battue" (*ghikāri-wār*; *Ālamārā*, 719). Exasperated by such treachery, the *mourav* ("governor of lower rank"; Brosset, *ibid.*, 148; the Persians write *mihraw*) Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kartli which the Persians did not overcome till 1035/1626 (Iossejian, *Zim mowawa G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, *ibid.*, 53-9, 489-97). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important, and Shāh Sa'ī, successor to 'Abbās I, owed his throne to the support of Khusrav Mirzā, brother of the King Bagrat who was *darūgha* of Isfahan.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), Teimuraz I of Kakheti (1605-64, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khet'ewan was put to death at Shirāz in 1624; Brosset, *ibid.*, 167) came to Kartli, where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kay Khusrav already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634-58). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of *kullar-aghāsi* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian prisoners who had become converts to Islam returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta, etc.

In 1045/1636 Murād IV took Eriwān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 Persia renounced her claims to Kars and Akhal-tsikhe (*Ta'rikh-i Na'imā*, 686); according to Vakhushht (Brosset, *ibid.*, 68), the Sultān received Imereti and Saatabago and the Shāh kept Kartli and Kakheti.

Vakhtang (to Muslims, Shāh Nawāz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-76). The Persophile policy continued. Shāh 'Abbās II (1052-70/1642-66) married the daughter of Shāh Nawāz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid.*, 79). In order to give more support to Shāh Nawāz, the Muslim tribes of Ādharbāydjān and Karabagh (15,000 Djamānshiri and Bayats) were settled in Kakheti (cf. the *History of Shāh 'Abbās II* by Muḥammad Tāhir Wahīd, in Dorn, 109, 111 = Brosset, *ibid.*, 303-4). Shāh Nawāz fought in Imereti, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1049/1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawāz II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaymān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakheti and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688-92, 1695-1703). This King, who had been brought up in Russia, became a convert to Islam under the name of Nazar 'Alī Khān.

The Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Balūch and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia, King Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Husayn. He restored order in Kandahār, but in 1121/1709 was treacherously slain by Mir Ways (cf. *AFGHANISTAN. v. History* (2)), who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kay Khusrav (1709-11). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Vakhtang (governor of Kartli 1703-11; king,

1711-24 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading. Vakh-tang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, ii/1, 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1714 and 1716 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Iese (= 'Ali Kullī Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islam.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gūnābād, near Isfahān (1134/1722), Shāh Husayn sought help from Vakh-tang, but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, ii/1, 117). Peter the Great, who reached Darband on 23 August 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand, the King of Kakheti Muhammad-Kullī Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Vakh-tang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

The second Ottoman occupation (1135-47/1723-34). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shī'īs was declared permitted. In Ramadān 1135/June 1723 the *serasker* Ibrāhīm Pasha, who had been negotiating with Vakh-tang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawāz and now given in Turkish the name Ibrāhīm Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel. Bakar soon rebelled, but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of 'Abd Allāh). In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of 12 September 1723, was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise, through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on 12 June 1724: Russia kept Dāghistān and the narrow strip of littoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamākha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 206-14. The Ottoman historian of these events is Celebi-zāde; on the other sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 289; Nāmī, *Feth-nāme der ḥakk-i Gūrdjistān*).

The deposed King Vakh-tang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (August 1724). The Turks, having taken possession of Kartli, took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble 'Othmān Topal Pasha alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, ii/1, 129). Iese did not bear the title of king, and the real power passed to Ishāk Pasha, a hereditary ruler of Akhaltsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727), Ishāk Pasha was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, ii/1, 236). In 1728 he divided Kartli among the feudal lords (*m'tavar*) whose disensions made it easy for him to control them. The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf. Brosset, *l.c.*; von Hammer, iv, 223, 231, 235, 280, 313).

Nādir Shāh. In 1143/1730-1 after a war in which he won little glory, Shāh Tahmāsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Nādirī*, Tabriz 1284, 90 = tr. Jones, i, 141; von Hammer, iv, 227 dates the peace to 6 February 1732). Nādir dissatisfied, dethroned Tahmāsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia. While he was operating against Dāghistān (1147/autumn of 1734) Ishāk Pasha of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. T'eimuraz, son of Nāzar 'Ali Khān (= Erekle I), and his nephew 'Ali Mirzā = Alexander (son of Imām Kullī = Dawid III) attacked Ishāk Pasha and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. Nādir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid.*, 114 = Jones, i,

200). At the siege of Gandja, Nādir ordered Šafī Khān Bughārī to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*mawrāwān wa-aznāwūrān*; *ibid.*, 116 = Jones, 205).

When 'Abd Allāh Pasha was defeated at Baghward near Eriwān, Ishāk Pasha surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on 22 Rabi' I, 1147 = 17 Sept. 1734 (*ibid.*, 123). Nādir summoned the nobles (*kawādān wa-aznāwūrān*) of Kartli and Kakheti among whom Tahmūrath (= T'eimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nādir however appointed as *wālī* of Kartli and Kakheti, 'Ali Mirzā, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muhammad Mirzā (= Leon) had fallen in battle against 'Othmān Pasha. Tahmūrath was allowed to go to Kakheti to bring his family (*kūc*) to Tiflis. Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision"; he fled to the mountains of "Karakalkhān (Pshaw), Rūs (Ru'is, west of Gori?) and Cerkas". Nādir sent his troops in pursuit of him, and arrived himself at Tiflis on 29 Djumādā I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Kaykul (Abots) were transported to Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 124 = Jones, 219). In 1149/1736 Šafī Khān captured T'eimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning of the Indian campaign, Nādir released T'eimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156/end of 1743, Tahmūrath Khān captured the pretender Sām Mirzā and later (1157/1744) along with 'Ali Khān Kiliđja (?) the Georgian sources call him Khandjal, Kizilidjal), new *beglerbegi* of Tiflis, defeated near Ru'is on the Aragwi Yūsuf Pasha of Akhaltsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Dāghistān to work for another pretender Šafī Mirzā. Arriving at Gori, Nādir, as a reward for Tahmūrath's services, transferred him to Karli and gave Kakheti to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, 202 = Jones, ii, 164; cf. Brosset, ii/1, 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and ii/2, 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1158/1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. T'eimuraz went to obtain a reduction, but on reaching Tabriz he heard of the death of Nādir. The latter's successor was 'Ali Kullī Khān, husband of Khetevan, daughter of T'eimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakheti. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1162/1749) and the reign of Karīm Khān, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skilfully exploited by T'eimuraz (king of Kartli 1744-61) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakheti 1744-61; king of Kartli and Kakheti 1761-90). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1752 the Afghān Āzād-Khān, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Eriwān and in 1760 captured at Kazakh and sent to Karīm-Khān. The Kurds of Eriwān were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1780, and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bāyazid. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Dāghistān (the most dangerous leader of whom was 'Umar Khān Awar). Only the Khāns of Shakhī, Hāđidjī Celebi and Agha Kishi (in 1752-3), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these success, the situation of Georgia was precarious, and in 1760 T'eimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 8th/20th January 1762.

Erekle, becoming king of the united kingdoms, continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Totleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of 4 December 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imereti, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küçük-Kaynardja (1774 [q.v.]) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty, Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Istanbul. On the other hand, he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prisovokupleno*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramot*, No. 144). Russia gave an evasive answer, and it was not till 24 July 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy, but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Kādījārs. During this period the Kādījārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Agha Muḥammad Kādījār laid siege to Shūsha in Karabāgh and then turned against Tiflis, which was taken on 11 September 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, ii/2, 260; Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, iii, 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Dāghistānis. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But on Nov. 6/18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Agha Muḥammad set out again for Transcaucasia, but was assassinated near Shūsha (15 June 1797). The aged King Erekle died on 12/23 January 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fath 'Alī Kādījār was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Kars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgis under the command of his two sons; dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg, the object of which was as follows: Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate, but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand, the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On 18 December 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisoyedineniye*) of Georgia, which was proclaimed on 18 January 1801 after the death of Giorgi on 28 December 1800. On 12 March, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On 12 September 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I and affirmed that Kartli-Kakheti were henceforth to be an integral part of the Imperial Russian dominions. The remaining members of the old Georgian ruling house were exiled forcibly to Russia.

Georgia under Russian rule. Russian possession of Georgia facilitated the extension of Russian power in Transcaucasia. The Commander of the

Caucasus, Prince Tsitsianov (himself the scion of the noble Georgian family of Tsitsishvili and governor 1802-6), had to preserve Russia's latest acquisition against several open enemies, including the Lesghian tribesmen of Muslim Dāghistān and the Muslim khāns of Bakū, Shakkī and Gandja in Ādharbāydjān, nominal vassals of Persia. He now carried the war into the enemy's camp and in January 1804 captured Gandja, killing its ruler Djawād Khān, who had helped the Kādījār Agha Muḥammad to invade Georgia and sack Tiflis in 1795 (see above); Gandja [q.v.] was now renamed Elizavetapol in honour of the Tsar Alexander I's wife Elizabeth. But when Tsitsianov marched on Bakū in January 1806, he was killed in battle by local Persian troops, although a further expedition later in that year led to the capture of both Bakū and Darband. Pressure was also exerted on the Ottomans, and the Black Sea port of Poti captured in 1809, Sulchum-Kal'a in Abkhāzia in 1810 and the strategic centre of Akhalkalaki in south-western Georgia in 1811; it was only now, in 1810, that the local ruler of Imereti submitted to the Russians after strenuous fighting.

Meanwhile, Russian rule in Georgia had speedily become hated, and a mass revolt of the Georgians came in 1812, when a Bagratid prince was proclaimed King of Georgia, before the outbreak was suppressed. However, a general peace in Transcaucasia was now made between the exhausted warring parties. The Treaty of Bucharest of 1812 restored Poti and Akhalkalaki to the Ottomans. The Treaty of Finkenstein of 1807, by which the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had recognised Persia's rights over Georgia, had never had any practical effect, and in the Gulistan Treaty of 1813 Russia was now confirmed in possession of Georgia, together with Daghistan and the Muslim khānates of Karabāgh, Gandja, Shakkī, Shirvān, Darband, Bakū and Kuba [q.v.]. Naturally, the Persians were unreconciled to these serious losses of ancestrally-controlled territories in the eastern Caucasus, and in 1826, taking advantage of the death of Alexander I and the Decembrist conspiracy in St. Petersburg, Persia invaded Georgia and Karabāgh. The attack was nevertheless repulsed by General Paskevich, and by the Treaty of Turkmenchay in 1828, the Russian frontier was firmly fixed at the Araxes and Persian influences in the Caucasus finally eliminated. An important consequence of this was that Persia was now cut off from direct contact with the Muslims of Dāghistān. Paskevich now turned to deal with Turkey in the west, aiming at the reconquest of the former Georgian province of Samtskhe, and Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzerum; the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 handed Samtskhe over to Russia and also the Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa, thereby cutting the Ottomans off from direct access to Circassia and the north-western Caucasus.

Muslim alarm at Russian aggrandisement in the Caucasus showed itself in the outbreak in 1829 in the eastern Caucasus of the *Murid* movement under the *Imāms* Kādī Mollā and then Shamil [q.v.], who for a quarter of a century kept large numbers of Russian troops tied down in the region. Rebellions against the Russians also broke out in the western Caucasus, in Circassia and Abkhāzia, with Turkish and British encouragement. During the Crimean War (1854-6), Georgia was the base for Russian attacks on Turkey, leading to the capture of Kārs in 1855; meanwhile, a Turkish army under Ömer Pasha landed in Abkhāzia and invaded Mingrelia.

Internally, Georgia stagnated in the first decades

of Russian rule, an especial cause of resentment being the suppression in 1811 of the independent Georgian Church, as a focus for national Georgian loyalties, in defiance of the guarantees of the 1783 Russo-Georgian Treaty, and its forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church, with the Catholicos-Patriarch Antoni II exiled to St. Petersburg. The Russian administration cut down the feudal rights of the Georgian nobility, and taxation for the numerous wars impoverished the land. In 1830-2 Georgian conspirators, grouped round such figures as Prince Alexander Bagration, an exile in Persia, made at last attempt to throw off Russian rule in Georgia; but when this failed, all hopes of a Bagratid restoration ended, and Georgia sank into what D. M. Lang has called "a mood of torpid acquiescence" for two or three decades. Only during the viceroyalty in Georgia of Count Michael Vorontsov (1845-54) did Georgia at last enjoy a measure of prosperity, educational and cultural encouragement and commercial development, with the beginnings of industrialisation in the Tiflis district as part of the distinct industrial revolution in Russia as a whole during Nicholas I's reign (1825-55). It was during Vorontsov's time that the doyen of modern Georgian studies in the west, Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-80), visited Georgia and worked there under his encouragement. The old Georgian nobility suffered a general decline in this period of transition, accompanied by an increased disinclination on the part of the peasantry to endure their former subjugation. Outlying parts of Georgia, which had retained some autonomy, were now brought under direct Imperial rule. In 1857, the Regent of Mingrelia, Catherine Dadiani, was deposed, and in 1867 the youthful heir, Nicholas Dadiani, was compelled to cede his sovereign rights to Russia. The mountain region of Upper Svanetia was annexed by military force to the viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In Abkhāzia, a region half-Christian and half-Muslim, with the Muslims looking to the Ottomans for support, the ruling prince Michael Sharvashidze was deposed by force of arms in 1864, leading speedily to the final subjugation of the hitherto indomitable Circassians and the consequent emigration of some 600,000 Muslim Circassians to Ottoman territory in preference to living under Russian rule [see *ERRERS*]. In 1864 the serfs were liberated in Georgia, and those of Mingrelia, Abkhāzia and Svaneti in the following years, although the burden of redemption payments imposed on the former serfs meant that their emancipation was formal rather than real.

There was another period of enlightened rule under the Grand Duke Michael, Alexander II's brother, Viceroy of the Caucasus 1862-82, during whose tenure of power Russia recovered during the war with Turkey of 1877-8 substantial areas of ancient Georgian territory which had been under Ottoman control since the 16th century. By the abortive Treaty of San Stefano and then the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russia acquired the port of Batum and retained her conquests of the important fortresses of Kārs and Ardahan [q.vv.], commanding the routes into eastern Anatolia (these last two districts were not recovered by Turkey till 1920 and 1921 respectively). The latter years of the Grand Duke's governorship were however marked by the intensification of Pan-Slavist feeling which characterised Imperial policy at this time and which was ominous for the non-Russian minorities of the empire, seen e.g. in the banning of 1872 of the use of Georgian for instruction at the Tiflis Theological Seminary, the main centre for the training of the Georgian priesthood and a focus for

Georgian nationalist and anti-Russian feeling (one of its future students was to be Joseph Djugashvili, the later Stalin). One aspect of the Georgian cultural reaction and re-awakening in these years was the appearance of anarchism and the Populist or Narodnik movement in Georgia from the 1870s onwards, together with the Marxist so-called "Third Group", one of whose leaders was Noe Zhordania, the future Menshevik and president of independent Georgia (1918-21). The ending of serfdom and the break-up of feudal estates in Georgia, and the growth of railway and oil-producing industries in Transcaucasia at places like Baku, Batum, Tiflis and Kutaisi, created propitious conditions for the spread of these movements, aimed in the first place at the Russian Imperial government (which was in fact by far the largest landowner in Georgia). The 1905 revolutionary period was preceded in 1902 by peasant unrest in Guria in southwestern Georgia, where holdings were especially fragmented, and in 1905 itself, the Georgian (Marxist) Social Democratic Party organised strikes and communes. Subsequent repression by Russian and Cossack troops drew the attention of the West to Georgia's claims as a nation, seen for instance in Britain by the formation through the efforts of the Georgian scholars Oliver and Marjory Wardrop of the Friends of Georgia Committee, which worked on lines parallel to those of E. G. Browne for the Persian Constitutionalists.

During the First World War, Georgian émigrés organised themselves in Central Europe, under German patronage, and in 1915 a Georgian Legion was formed to fight on the Black Sea coastal front. In the Russo-Turkish fighting in the western Caucasus, the Muslim Georgian Laz [q.v.] and Ačars supported the Ottomans, and Armenian irregulars the Russians. With the fall of the Tsarist government in April 1917, the Georgian Mensheviks assumed power, but the crumbling of the Imperial Army allowed Turkey to recover her occupied territory in eastern Anatolia and to advance on Transcaucasia, wreaking vengeance on the local Armenians in requital for Armenian slaughter of Muslims. The Muslims of Ādharbāy-djān refused to continue fighting against Turkey, and now, cut off from Russia itself, Transcaucasia on 22 April 1918 declared itself an independent federative republic, comprising Christian Georgia and Armenia and Muslim Ādharbāy-djān. The Ottomans still pressed for the retrocession of territory in Georgia lost to Russia in the 19th century, and had taken the offensive and occupied Batum. Centrifugal forces thus soon made the Transcaucasian Republic dissolve into its three component parts, and on 26 May 1918 an independent Georgian Republic, under German protection, was set up; peace was made between Georgia and Turkey in June, with Turkey regaining Batum, Kārs, Ardahan, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki. Hence from 1918 to 1921 a Menshevik or Social Democratic régime governed Georgia, headed by Zhordania, with a great upsurge of Georgian nationalism (Georgia's first university being opened at Tiflis in 1918) and hopes of the following of a peaceful policy of democratic socialism. After the Armistice of November 1918, British troops replaced the German ones in Georgia, with Oliver Wardrop as Chief British Commissioner to the three Transcaucasian republics, with his headquarters in Tiflis. On 27 January 1921 France and Britain recognised Georgia diplomatically as a sovereign state. However, the new state was under pressure, having to fight off Armenian claims to Georgian territory, the Kemalist Turkish forces to the south, and above all, the Bolsheviks. In February 1921 the Bolsheviks were

threatening Tiflis itself, and it fell after a heroic resistance on 25 February to a fearful sacking by the Red Army, Zhordania fleeing with his government by sea to Istanbul.

Georgia under the Soviets inevitably suffered from the recrudescence of Great Russian chauvinism and imperialism, the excesses of Russian troops provoking a guerrilla resistance movement in Georgia akin to the Basmachi movement [q.v.] in Central Asia, culminating in a general uprising in 1924, ruthlessly suppressed. For the next two decades or more, up to 1953, Georgia groaned under the repression of Stalin and his henchman Beria, himself a Mingrelian and who exercised dictatorial powers in Transcaucasia 1932-8. Until 1936, Georgia was deprived of its autonomy and became part of a Transcaucasian Federated SSR, of which Tiflis was the capital, but in that year it became the Georgian SSR, and now forms one of the constituent republics of the USSR and includes the Abkhaz and Adzhara Autonomous SSRs and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, with a total area of 27,000 sq. miles/70,000 km².

According to figures from January 1970, the total population of the republic is 4,686,000, 48% of these being town dwellers and 52% rural, the main towns being Tiflis (pop. 907,000) and the much smaller centres of Kutaisi, Rustavi, Sukhum and Batumi. Ethnically, the population is returned as being 67% Georgian, but with considerable minorities of Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Abkhazians (see BSE², vii, 360-92). What proportion of all these may still be described as Muslim is unclear, but in 1921 the capital Tiflis had a fair number of Turks in its population, and in 1922, under Soviet rule, there was still being produced a local Turkish newspaper, *Yeni fikir*, and a journal, *Dan yildizi* (see Mirzā Bālā, *Ādharbāydzān türk mahbū'āt*, Baku 1922); but the 1922 census enumerated only 3,255 Azerbaijani Turks and 3,984 Persians, presumably all Muslims. The Azerbaijani Turks in Georgia are naturally to be found mainly in the extension of the *Ādharbāydzān* plain to the east and south-east of Tiflis, in such districts as Borzhali and Karayazi, and they formed part of the Kazak-Shams al-Dīn tribal group (see Bala, *JA* art. *Gürjistan*).

Bibliography: The older bibliography is given at length in Minorsky's *ET* art. *TRFLS*. The basic standard work still remains M.-F. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1849-57. On general bibliography, see D. M. Lang, *Catalogue of Georgian and other Caucasian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1962; D. Barrett, *Catalogue of the Wardrop collection and of other Georgian books and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1973; and the *Bibl.* given in Mirzā Bala's *JA* art. *Gürjistan*. Specific works include W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people from the beginning down to the Russian conquest in the nineteenth century*, London 1932; Zurab Avalishvili, *The independence of Georgia in international politics 1918-1921*, London 1940; S. S. Jik'ia, *Gurjistan vilāyat'is didi dant'ari*, Tiflis 1947 (= Turkish text and Georgian translation of a 16th century Ottoman *mufasssal tapu defteri*); Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921*, Oxford 1951; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie*, Paris 1951; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields*, Cambridge 1953; D. M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs, No. 130, New York 1955; idem, *The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832*, New York 1957; idem, *A*

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KURĤ, AL-KURĤ, a town and district of mediaeval Islamic times in the northern Hicāz, mentioned in early Islamic sources as of prime importance, but not now known under this name.

It seems very likely that the place had a role in the pre-Islamic history of the Wādī 'l-Kurā [q.v.], where the settlement of later KurĤ was situated, although the principal towns then were Dēdān (modern al-Khurayba) and al-Hijr [q.v.] or Madā'in Šālih (modern al-'Ulā). According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, iv, 320-1, and al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā'*, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Hamid, Beirut 1393/1971, iv, 1288, there was a well-known fair at KurĤ in the Dīhiliyya, and popular tradition located there the destruction of the people of Hūd, sc. 'Ād [q.v.]. As the culture of Dēdān and Lihyān decayed in the northern Hicāz, KurĤ seems to have become the main settlement of the Wādī 'l-Kurā around the time of the coming of Islam, and *mukhadram* poets like Ibn al-Mukbil [q.v. in Suppl.] and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Šalt mention it. The tribe of 'Udhra [q.v.] lived in the district; the Prophet prayed in KurĤ, and a mosque was built there (see *Madjīd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāya fī ghārīb al-hadīth wa 'l-aṥār*, ed. M. M. al-Tannāhī, Cairo 1383/1963, iv, 36, and H. Lammens, *L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Hicāz, notes de géographie historique, in L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 304-5).

Following a well-known process in Islamic geographical nomenclature, the name KurĤ was applied both to the town, the administrative and commercial centre of the Wādī 'l-Kurā, and to the surrounding district, in effect, the Wādī 'l-Kurā itself. Hence al-Mukaddasī, 69, says that KurĤ is one of the four regions (*nawāḥi*) of Arabia and also one of the towns of the Hicāz; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'djam*, iii, 1056, describes it as the *ḥaṣaba* of the Wādī 'l-Kurā, with a variant form of the name as al-Kurāh (*loc. cit.* and i, 247). It obviously flourished highly at this time. Al-Mukaddasī, 83-4, says that it was populous and much frequented by traders, and had many amenities; it had a strong citadel, a defensive ditch and walls; and Jews were a decisive element (*al-ghālīb*) there (cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 307), though elsewhere (96) he states that KurĤ (here meaning the district) was essentially Sunni in faith.

Where exactly, then, was the town of KurĤ located, since the toponym is not in use today, although that of al-Hijr (*pace* Vidal, in *ET* s.v.) does in fact survive? C. M. Doughty (1876-7) enquired among the local people, but could find no memory of it, although he was shown a ruined site "el-Mubbiat" six miles south of al-'Ulā; he nevertheless thought that the mediaeval KurĤ lay much further south towards Medina (*Travels in Arabia deserta*, London 1926, i, 161-2). Subsequently, A. Musil definitely identified KurĤ with al-'Ulā (*The northern Hicāz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 295; but elsewhere, 217-18, n. 52, he placed it, more correctly, to the south of al-'Ulā). It has now been convincingly argued by 'Abd Allāh al-Naṣfī, himself a native of the region, that the site of mediaeval KurĤ should indeed be located at the present-day ruins known